

## Message Text

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ACTION NEA-11

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01  
INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15  
ICA-11 HA-05 TRSE-00 /082 W  
-----076585 221043Z /13

R 220924Z MAY 78  
FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8484  
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA  
AMEMBASSY CAIRO  
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD  
AMEMBASSY JIDDA  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI  
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TEHRAN 04877

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1  
TAGS: PINT, SHUM, AF, IR  
SUBJ: AN IRANIAN MFA VIEW OF AFGHANISTAN

SUMMARY: MFA IS VERY PESSIMISTIC ON AFGHANISTAN. END SUMMARY.

1. IN COURSE OF COURTESY CALL MAY 21 ON MFA DIRECTOR  
GENERAL FOR ASIA AND AFRICA SANANDAJI, DCM AND POLCOUNS  
DISCUSSED CURRENT SITUATION IN AFGHANISTAN WITH PARTICULAR  
EMPHASIS ON HUMAN RIGHTS. SANANDAJI IMMEDIATELY PROFFERED  
HIS VIEW THAT MOSCOW HAD WON AN EASY AND COMPLETE VICTORY.  
IT HAD BEEN WELL PREPARED DATING FROM DAOUD'S ASSUMPTION  
OF PRIME MINISTERSHIP IN 1953 AND TAKING ADVANTAGE OF HIS  
"UNJUSTIFIED AMBITION" SINCE THEN.

2. MOST STRIKING THING FOR SANANDAJI WAS TARAKI'S  
FIRST MAJOR PUBLIC SPEECH (KABUL 3806), IN PARTICULAR THREE  
THEMES. TARAKI HAD SAID HE WOULD SOLVE THE PROBLEM OF  
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NATIONALITY THROUGH THE CREATION OF A "PROGRESSIVE SYSTEM"  
OF NATIONAL CULTURE AND EDUCATION. HE ALSO PLEDGED SUPPORT  
FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS AND SOLUTION OF THE  
PUSHTUN AND BALUCH PROBLEMS. UP TO NOW, AFGHANISTAN HAS  
BEEN DIVIDED AMONG AS MANY AS 25 NATIONALITIES, WITH CHINESE,  
PERSIAN, AND INDIAN CULTURAL INFLUENCES AFFECTING SEPARATE  
SECTIONS OF THE COUNTRY. HE WAS SURE, SANANDAJI SAID, THAT

THOUSANDS OF SOVIET TADZHIKS, UZBEKS AND TURKOMANS, SUPPLIED WITH AFGHAN IDENTITY CARDS, WERE ALREADY DESCENDING ON KABUL AND OTHER MAIN CITIES TO TAKE OVER KEY POSTS IN NEW ADMINISTRATION. IF THEY HAD NOT, THEY WOULD BE SOON. COUNTRY WOULD BE TURNED INTO ONE OF THE AUTONOMOUS REGIONS OF USSR.

3. SANANDAJI SAID HE THOUGHT IT WOULD BE LESS THAN A YEAR BEFORE NEW GOVERNMENT TURNED ITS ATTENTION TO PUSHTUNISTAN AND BALUCHISTAN. MEANWHILE THERE WOULD BE "TOTAL EXTERMINATION OF BRAINS" AS IN EASTERN EUROPE AFTER WORLD WAR TWO. HE THOUGHT BABRAK IS A FIGUREHEAD WITHOUT POWER. WHEN DCM NAAS SAID HE COULD NOT AGREE, HAVING KNOWN BARAK FOR FOUR YEARS AND FOUND HIM A VERY TOUGH LITTLE GUY, SANANDAJI SAID HE WOULD BE ELIMINATED.

4. SANANDAJI ASKED IF USG HAD INFORMATION ABOUT A PUSTUN DIVISION TRAINING IN RUSSIA FOR PAST 15 YEARS. NAAS NOTED THIS WAS PAKISTANI IDEA, WHICH SANANDAJI ADMITTED. SANANDAJI SAID IT WAS LOGICAL BUT INDICATED IRANIANS HAD NO INDEPENDENT EVIDENCE. IRANIANS ALSO SEEMED TO HAVE NO CONFIRMED REPORTS OF MASS ARRESTS AND EXECUTIONS (PER KABUL 3933, ON WHICH WE BRIEFED HIM). SANANDAJI NOTED UNCONFIRMED NEWS REPORTS SPEAKING OF MORE THAN 300 PEOPLE ARRESTED AND EVENTS "APPROACHING A BLOOD BATH". NEW AFGHANISTAN FOREIGN MINISTER HAD TOLD IRANIAN AMBASSADOR THERE WOULD SOON BE A TOTAL PURGE OF MFA OFFICIALS IN  
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KABUL. SANANDAJI WAS UNIMPRESSED BY AFGHAN MAY 17 STATEMENT (KABUL 4069). THOUGH HE AGREED WITH NAAS THAT WE SHALL ALL HAVE TO WAIT AND SEE WHAT AFGHANS ACTUALLY DO IN VIEW OF TARAKI'S AND OTHER PUBLIC ASSURANCES, SANANDAJI COMMENTED THAT WITH SUCH COMMUNIST REGIMES WORDS ARE WORTHLESS.

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ICA-11 HA-05 TRSE-00 /082 W

-----076609 221042Z /13

R 220924Z MAY 78

FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8485  
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA  
AMEMBASSY CAIRO  
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD  
AMEMBASSY JIDDA  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 TEHRAN 04877

5. IN A VERY PERSONAL ASIDE, SAANDAJI CONFIDED THAT ONLY GOOD THING TO COME OUT OF THIS BAD BUSINESS WAS DESTRUCTION OF THE MOHAMMADZAI FAMILY. HE INSISTED, DESPITE A DEMURRER FROM NAAS, THAT MOHAMMADZAI HAVE BEEN IMPLACABLY HOSTILE TOWARD IRAN AND PERSIAN CULTURE FROM THE BEGINNING AND WITHOUT ANY GOOD REASON, THOUGH AT TIMES THEIR HOSTILITY WAS DISGUISED.

6. LATER IN THE CONVERSATION WE ASKED SANANDAJI IF GOI HAD BEEN IN TOUCH WITH INDIANS ABOUT THIS SITUATION AT ALL. HE WAS CATEGORICAL THAT INDIANS, SHORTSIGHTEDLY, ARE HAPPY WITH THE COUP. ALL THEY CAN THINK ABOUT, HE INSISTED, IS DESTRUCTION OF PAKISTAN. HE NOTED VERY RAPID RECOGNITION BY INDIA, IN COMPANY WITH SOVIET UNION AND BULGARIA, OF THE COUP ITSELF, EVEN BEFORE THERE WAS A NEW GOVERNMENT TO RECOGNIZE. IRANIANS HAD NOTED (OR BEEN TOLD) SOVIET AMBASSADOR IN KABUL WAS ABSENT DURING THE PERIOD OF TIME  
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THAT COLONEL QOADER WENT TO INDIA. SANANDAJI RECALLED THAT TITO HAD TOLD AFGHAN AMBASSADOR AMIN ETEMADI, AT THE TIME THAT SOVIET AMBASSADOR IN BELGRADE HAD BEEN TRANSFERRED TO KABUL: "GOD HAVE MERCY ON YOU".

7. COMMENT: SANANDAJI IS OF PREDOMINANTLY FRENCH EDUCATION AND GIVEN TO EXAGGERATION AND THE STRIKING "BON MOT". WHILE HIS VIEWS WERE PRESENTED AS PERSONAL, THEY CLOSELY PARALLEL OTHER "PERSONAL" VIEWS WE HAVE HEARD IN THE MFA. SANANDAJI SEVERAL TIMES EXPRESSED THE HOPE HE WOULD BE PROVEN WRONG, BUT SEEMED SURE HE WOULD NOT. WHILE GOI, IN THE PERSON OF ITS CHIEF POLICY MAKER THE SHAH, IS NOT PREPARED TO EXPRESS SUCH AN ASSESSMENT OF AFGHANISTAN YET, WE NOTE SANANDAJI'S VIEWS FALL IN LINE WITH THOSE OF OTHER HIGH OFFICIALS IN THE OTHER CENTO REGIONAL COUNTRIES, E.G., VIEWS EXPRESSED BY AGA SHAHI DURING

HIS RECENT VISIT TO TEHRAN, AND STATEMENTS BY TURKISH MFA  
OFFICIAL SUBASI (ANKARA 3833).  
SULLIVAN

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## Message Attributes

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